

NCA  
VOC FOR IOP/FN  
NEWS ANALYSIS 1-0380  
CHRIS KERN

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THE POLITICAL WINDS FROM ILLINOIS

ANNCR:

PRESIDENT FORD HAS BEATEN CHALLENGER RONALD REAGAN IN THE REPUBLICAN PRIMARY ELECTION IN ILLINOIS, AND JIMMY CARTER CAME OUT WELL AHEAD IN THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY RACE. BUT THERE'S MORE TO THE ILLINOIS VOTING THAN THE TWO PARTY PRESIDENTIAL CONTESTS, AND HERE'S CHRIS KERN'S ANALYSIS.

VOICE:

ILLINOIS REPUBLICANS HAVE GIVEN PRESIDENT FORD HIS FIFTH STRAIGHT PRIMARY ELECTION VICTORY, AND THE PRESIDENT AND HIS AIDES NOW SAY THE REAGAN CHALLENGE HAS BEEN TURNED BACK. JIMMY CARTER HAS WON FOUR OF THE FIVE PRIMARIES IN THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY AND HE SAYS THE RACE HAS NARROWED TO ONE BETWEEN HIMSELF AND HENRY JACKSON.

BUT THE REALITIES ARE MORE COMPLICATED THAN EITHER ILLINOIS WINNER SUGGESTS. THE REAGAN CHALLENGE HAS DEMONSTRATED THAT MR. FORD HAS BEEN ABLE TO GENERATE ONLY RESTRAINED ENTHUSIASM FOR HIS CAMPAIGN, EVEN AMONG VOTERS OF HIS OWN PARTY AND EVEN THOUGH HE IS THE INCUMBENT PRESIDENT. JIMMY CARTER HAS DONE WELL IN THE POPULAR VOTING IN THE FIVE STATES THAT HAVE HELD PRIMARY ELECTIONS TO DATE, BUT HE HAS ONLY A SMALL FRACTION OF THE DELEGATE VOTES THAT HE WILL NEED AT THE NATIONAL CONVENTION IF HE IS TO WIN THE DEMOCRATIC NOMINATION.

THE DELEGATES TO THE TWO CONVENTIONS WILL CHOOSE THE PARTY NOMINEES AND THE SELECTION OF DELEGATES CORRELATES ONLY ROUGHLY WITH THE POPULAR VOTING IN THE PRIMARIES, AND SOMETIMES NOT AT ALL. JIMMY CARTER WON THE POPULARITY CONTEST IN THE ILLINOIS DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY, BUT HE ONLY CAME IN SECOND IN

THE SEPARATE RACE FOR DELEGATES. THE ILLINOIS WINNER BY A DECISIVE MARGIN WAS CHICAGO MAYOR RICHARD DALEY. MAYOR DALEY IS NOT A PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE AND HE HAS NO INTENTION OF BECOMING ONE. BUT HE WANTS TO GO TO THE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION IN JULY IN CONTROL OF A SIGNIFICANT BLOC OF DELEGATES AND HE NOW CONTROLS THE SECOND LARGEST BLOC IN THE DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENTIAL RACE.

THOSE DELEGATES WILL GIVE MR. DALEY INFLUENCE OVER THE SELECTION OF A DEMOCRATIC PARTY CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT AND HE WILL USE HIS INFLUENCE TO GET FAVORS FROM WASHINGTON FOR THE CITY THAT HE GOVERNS IF THE DEMOCRATS WIN THE WHITE HOUSE IN NOVEMBER. MR. DALEY IS AN EXPERT IN GIVING AND GETTING POLITICAL FAVORS AND THAT'S WHY HE, AS A NONCANDIDATE, COULD COMMAND A MAJORITY OF THE VOTES FOR DELEGATES IN ILLINOIS.

CHICAGO'S VOTERS GAVE MR. DALEY CONTROL OVER THE MAJORITY OF THE ILLINOIS CONVENTION DELEGATES BECAUSE HE HAS GIVEN THEM A CITY THAT IS RELATIVELY SAFE AND CLEAN AND SOLVENT. DALEY'S MANY CRITICS DESCRIBE HIS POLITICAL APPARATUS IN CHICAGO AS A "MACHINE" AND DALEY AS ITS "BOSS." NEITHER TERM IS INTENDED TO BE COMPLIMENTARY.

BUT THE MACHINE FUNCTIONS EFFECTIVELY AS A GOVERNMENT AND A CHICAGO DEMOCRAT IN GOOD STANDING KNOWS HE CAN GO TO ITS LOCAL REPRESENTATIVE FOR HELP AS LONG AS HE IS WILLING TO WORK TO KEEP THE MACHINE IN POWER IN THE NEXT ELECTION. CITY GOVERNMENT IN THIS COUNTRY HAS A DIRECT AND IMMEDIATE EFFECT ON PEOPLE'S LIVES. FOR MOST AMERICANS, THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT IN WASHINGTON IS REMOTE.

SO MAYOR DALEY'S CHICAGO GOVERNMENT DISPENSES FAVORS AND COLLECTS FAVORS IN RETURN ON ELECTION DAY. THE REFORMERS PERIODICALLY COMPLAIN OF CORRUPTION BUT CHICAGO VOTERS, CHOOSING FREELY, KEEP PUTTING MR. DALEY BACK IN OFFICE. JIMMY CARTER HAS A WINNING SMILE AND THE POTENTIAL TO BE PRESIDENT. MAYOR DALEY HAS THE CITY ADMINISTRATION IN CHICAGO. PRESIDENTS ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR CONDUCTING FOREIGN POLICY. MAYORS ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR SEEING THAT THE GARBAGE IS COLLECTED.

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